

SPEECH

OF

MR. HILL, OF NEW HAMPSHIRE,

On the motion of Mr. Calhoun that the Senate refuse to receive a petition from the Society of Friends, in the State of Pennsylvania, to abolish Slavery in the District of Columbia.

IN SENATE, FEBRUARY 12, 1836.

Mr. HILL rose: I do not, (said he,) object to many of the positions taken by Senators on the abstract question of northern interference with slavery in the South. But I do protest against the excitement that is attempted on the floor of Congress, to be kept up against the North. I do protest against the array that is made here of the acts of a few misguided fanatics as the acts of the whole or of a large portion of the people of the North. I do protest against the countenance that is here given to the idea that the people of the North generally are interfering with the rights and property of the people of the South.

Mr. President, the authors and movers of the abolition excitement at the North, so far as I have been able to identify them, are the same people who have so often attempted to move on other subjects of political agitation. The older ones might be traced through most of the excitements, from the Missouri excitement of 1816, down to the present time. Almost the same means have been pursued in this matter that for several years were pursued in relation to the stopping of the mails on the sabbath during and subsequent to the late war, and to enlist the sympathies of the religious community in behalf of the "poor Indians," within the last few years. It is but the attempt of speculating, gambling politicians, to operate on the prejudices of the fanatical and the credulous; and it is done through organized societies, having the furtherance of religion for their ostensible object.

It fortunately happens, that never were the people of the North so entirely united in opinion on any exciting subject, as they are on this question. The good sense of the community has utterly prostrated the fanatical party, so far as relates to any evils they can effect at home. Nine-tenths of those who had for the moment been honestly deluded by the artful and the designing, have already disclaimed the connexion.

The policy of the friends to the Union in the State which I have the honor here, in part, to represent, had been not to contest the ground with the zealots who had embarked in a crusade against slavery in a country where slavery did not

exist. They believed that the zeal of the few fanatics would sooner tire, if left the entire field to themselves, than if a collision was kept up. With all their efforts, with thousands of dollars poured in upon us to aid them, the malcontents made but few converts. There was no danger from their operations at home. It was not until the concentrated movements of the leaders of the abolitionists at the North began to produce alarm in the South, that the people took the business of putting down the agitators seriously in hand. Opposition has made them of more consideration than they were before—the artful leaders even now invite opposition, that they may cry out against persecution, and enlist more or less of public sympathy; just as the missionaries to the Indians in Georgia sought to be imprisoned, and even refused to be released till they found there was no longer sympathy left for them.

There is no course that will better suit the few Northern fanatics, than the agitation of the question of slavery in the halls of Congress—nothing will please them better than the discussions which are taking place, and a solemn vote of either branch denying them the right to prefer petitions here, praying that slavery may be abolished in the District of Columbia. A denial of that right at once enables them, and not without color of truth, to cry out that the contest going on is "a struggle between Power and Liberty."

Believing the intentions of those who have moved simultaneously to get up these petitions at this time, to be mischief, I was glad to see the first petition that came in here, laid on the table without discussion, and without reference to any committee. The motion to lay on the table precludes all debate; and if decided affirmatively, prevents agitation. It was with the view of preventing agitation of this subject, that I moved to lay the second set of petitions on the table. A Senator from the South (Mr. Calhoun) has chosen a different course; he has interposed a motion which opens a debate that may be continued for months. He has chosen to agitate this question; and he has presented that question, the decision of which,

let Senators vote as they may, will best please the agitators who are urging the fanatics forward.

I have said the people of the North were more united in their opposition to the plans of the advocates of anti-slavery, than on any other subject.—This opposition is confined to no political party; it pervades every class of the community. They deprecate all interference with the subject of slavery, because they believe such interference may involve the existence and welfare of the Union itself, and because they understand the obligations which the non-slaveholding States owe to the slaveholding States by the compact of confederation. It is the strong desire to perpetuate the Union; it is the determination which every patriotic and virtuous citizen has made, in no event to abandon the "ark of our safety," that now impels the united North to take its stand against the agitators of the anti-slavery project. So effectually has the strong public sentiment put down that agitation in New England, that it is now kept alive only by the power of money, which the agitators have collected, and apply in the hiring of agents, and in issues from presses that are kept in their employ.

To an interior town (Canaan) in the State of New Hampshire, funds were sent to establish a school to be devoted principally to the instruction of colored persons that might be sent there from abroad; and an attempt was made to mingle these colored persons as equals, in a community of persons exclusively white. This little community rejected with disdain, a bribe of twenty thousand dollars offered them. They expostulated, and entreated those who would force a favorite scheme of the Abolition Society to desist: finding they could rid themselves of the nuisance in no other way, the inhabitants of the town and vicinity collected en masse; they brought with them some hundred yokes of oxen, and proceeded quietly to remove the edifice in which the colored youth were to be instructed, to a place where it could not be used for that purpose. The removal of the building was justified on the ground that a large majority of those who had erected it originally for a different purpose, had a right thus to dispose of their own property; and the nuisance has since been abated.

It was in the place of my residence, at the centre of the State, that the incendiary Thompson, who had been expelled from England for his crimes, first met such a reception as compelled him in a few weeks after to flee the country. He and other agitators were known to be in the vicinity; and a numerous meeting of citizens had just passed resolutions deprecating all interference on the subject of slavery in the South and in the District of Columbia. Thompson made his appearance, and notified the citizens that he would address them on the subject of slavery the next night. In the space of three hours such a spirit was roused as could not be repressed by those who desired to see the public peace preserved. The few friends of Thompson were notified that violence would be done to his person if he made his appearance. A large collection of people went to the place where he was supposed to be: he had fled, disguised, as was said, in female attire, and under

the darkness of night. The people, being unable to find him, had his effigy burnt in the public square, and carried out their triumph by some hundred discharges of artillery.

These two cases are but samples of the deep feeling that pervades New Hampshire, indeed, I believe I may say the whole of New England, on the subject of the slave agitation. There are no laws that can be passed by our Legislatures which will do so much to repress the agitators as will the strong public sentiment that pervades the country. That sentiment even goes further than has been known on any other subject; it would in all cases be sufficiently scathing to the authors of the mischief if it discovered itself in that withering scorn which few men have the brass to withstand, without proceeding to tokens of disapprobation, such as the law will not warrant.

Certain it is, that the South ought to be fully satisfied with the present disposition of the North. The Senators from Virginia and South Carolina (Messrs. Leigh and Calhoun) have mentioned a clergyman of Massachusetts—"the first scholar and writer of the age"—as being the author of a disgusting and reprehensible pamphlet in favor of abolition. Are the Senators not aware that this clergyman (Mr. Channing) is the same person who wrote and delivered an address laudatory of the crowned de-pots of Europe at the moment they had broken down Napoleon and France, when the latter power was the only barrier between Great Britain (then at war with us) and the United States? This production of a Massachusetts clergyman is not an indication of the sentiment even of the city of Boston on the slave question. Probably half of the efficient abolitionists in New England, are to be found among a certain description of the clergy; and those clergymen much of the character of those who considered it a high offence to Heaven to pray for the success of the American arms during the war with Great Britain.

The anti-slavery movement, which brings in petitions from various parts of the country asking Congress to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, originates with a few persons, who have been in the habit of making charitable religious institutions subservient to political purposes, and who have even controlled some of those charitable associations. The petitions are set on foot by men who have had, and who continue to have, influence with ministers and religious teachers of different denominations. They have issued and sent out their circulars calling for a united effort to press on Congress the abolition of slavery in this District. Many of the clergymen who have been instruments of the agitators, have done so from no bad motive. Some of them, discovering the purpose of the agitators—discovering that their labors were calculated to make the condition of the slave worse, and to create animosity between the people of the North and the South, have passed in their course, and desisted from the further application of a mistaken philanthropy. Others, having enlisted deeply their feelings, still pursue the unprofitable labor. They present here the names of inconsiderate men and women, many of whom do not know, when they subscribe their papers, what they are asking; and others of whom, placing implicit faith

in their religious teacher, are taught to believe they are thereby doing a work of disinterested benevolence, which will be requited by rewards in a future life.

It is to the *esprit de corps* that has been moved of late years in whole religious bodies, directing benevolence away from home to distant objects—it is to the concentration of religious effort, sometimes to useful and salutary objects, but often to objects altogether impracticable, that we may attribute the present abolition movements. These movements, I do not doubt, are spurred on, if not secretly instigated, by those who have political objects to be effected by them. Never were men more mistaken than are that portion of the clergy in the Northern States who have embarked in this undertaking. At first these clergymen were countenanced by a portion of the people who had been accustomed to be guided by their teaching; but within the last six months, nine-tenths of even these have left them; and as in other cases of unwise and imprudent projects, the leaders are left nearly destitute of followers.

Within a few days I have received through the mail an abolition pamphlet purporting to be the "first annual report of the Maine Anti-Slavery Society, held in Brunswick, October 23, 1835." Of eighteen resolutions passed by this society, I find that fifteen were made by gentlemen wearing the title of *Reverend*, and only three made by *laymen*. A resolution moved by one clergyman declares that "all Christian churches and ministers have something to do with it," (the abolition of slavery) as a "great moral question." A second, by another clergyman, declares that "slavery is alike inconsistent with both natural and revealed religion," and "can never be defended or excused." A third resolution, moved by another clergyman, tauntingly declares that "we have liberated as many slaves as our opponents have educated." The last resolution, passed on motion of a *deacon* of a church, declares the society will attempt to raise two thousand dollars for the laudable purpose of keeping up the excitement another year in that State where slavery does not exist. The last act is a prayer offered by one of the *Reverends* for the "blessing of God on the efforts" of the society, which then adjourned without day!

Now, sir, as much as I abhor the doings of weak or wicked men who are moving this abolition question at the North, I yet have not as bad opinion of them as I have of some others who are attempting to make of these puerile proceedings an object of alarm to the whole South.

Of all the vehicles, tracts, pamphlets, and newspapers, printed and circulated by the abolitionists, there is no ten or twenty of them that have contributed so much to the excitement as a single newspaper printed in this city. I need not name this paper when I inform you that for the last five years it has been laboring to produce a northern and a southern party—to fan the flame of sectional prejudice—to open wider the breach, to drive harder the wedge, which shall divide the North from the South. It is the newspaper which in 1831–2, strove to create that state of things in relation to the tariff which would produce inevitable collision between the two sections of the coun-

try, and which urged to that crisis in South Carolina, terminating in her deep disgrace—

[Mr. Calhoun here interrupted Mr. Hill, and called him to order. Mr. H. took his seat, and Mr. Hubbard (being in the chair) decided that the remarks of Mr. H. did not impugn the motives of any man—they were only descriptive of the effects of certain proceedings upon the State of South Carolina, and that he was not out of order.]

Mr. H. resumed. It is the newspaper which condemns or ridicules the well-meant efforts of an officer of the Government to stop the circulation of incendiary publications in the slaveholding States, and which designedly magnifies the number and the efforts of the northern abolitionists. It is the newspaper, which libels the whole North by representing the almost united people of that region to be insincere in their efforts to prevent the mischief of a few fanatical and misguided persons who are engaged in the abolition cause.

I have before me a copy of this newspaper (the United States Telegraph) filled to the brim with the exciting subject. It contains among other things a speech of an honorable Senator, (Mr. Leigh of Virginia,) which I shall not be surprised soon to learn has been issued by thousands and tens of thousands from the abolition mint at New York, for circulation in the South. Surely the honorable Senator's speech contained that part of the Channing pamphlet, most likely to move the southern slaves to a servile war, at the same time the Channing extracts and the speech itself are most admirably calculated to awaken the fears or arouse the indignation of their masters. The circulation of such a speech will effect the object of the abolitionists without trenching upon their funds. Let the agitation be kept up in Congress, and let this newspaper be extensively circulated in the South, filled with such speeches and such extracts as this exhibits, and little will be left for the northern abolitionists to do. They need do no more than send in their petitions: the late printer of the Senate and his friends in Congress, will create enough of excitement to effect every object of those who direct the movements of the abolitionists.

Within a few days there has been introduced into this body a *lusus naturæ*, an animal with two heads, in the shape of a report, laboring to prove that Congress has no right to pass laws which shall prevent the circulation, through the mail, of incendiary publications, and, at the same time, presenting a bill for the sanction of the Senate, which makes it a crime for the officers of the post office to suffer these publications to pass through their offices. This report, this monster, whose paternity is disavowed by a majority of the committee which creates it, comes to us in such a "questionable shape," that I will speak of it. Had it not become a habit of this body to yield much to courtesy, to certain Senators of the majority, I would say, that the monster comes here entirely out of order. It is, however, so great a favorite, that while the Senate can order no more than three thousand extra copies of a message of the President of the United States, highly interesting to the people of the country at the moment, five thousand extra copies are instantly ordered of this document, disavowed and disclaimed by a ma-

ority of the committee reporting it! The printing of these five thousand copies, if Senators will circulate and frank them, will save the Abolition Society at New York the expense of furnishing and those who receive them, the expense of postage. A better document for the agitators could not go forth, than this same two-headed monster. If the bill should become a law, before the report is circulated, the poor postmasters, through whose hands it shall pass, may consider it of little advantage to them, that they are of the forty thousand "parasites of Executive power," whose names are printed in the Blue Book. The chairman of the committee, (Mr. Calhoun,) will find his last bill much more effectual, in driving postmasters out of office, than any bill he can devise, to protect men in office from responsibility to the Chief Magistrate of the United States. It will look well for this body to pass a law punishing postmasters for suffering that to go through the mail, which Senators themselves introduce to be read in this body, and circulated through the country in their speeches!

The honorable Senator from South Carolina (Mr. Calhoun) has introduced a certain newspaper, published at Utica, in the State of New York, favoring the abolition cause. This newspaper he states as recommending certain candidates (Martin Van Buren and Richard M. Johnson) for President and Vice President. He did not inform us whether the newspaper was printed last month or last year; nor did he inform us that the array of Presidential candidates was intended to be a most gross imposition upon the people of the South. The authors of that newspaper, I do not doubt, sent it here to be used for the precise purpose it has been used: they placed the names of Van Buren and Johnson at the head of their columns, knowing that they might injure them more effectually by seeming to be their friends than by openly opposing them. The authors and abettors of that newspaper are known, and they are known to be not less decided enemies to the candidates named, than the Senator from South Carolina himself. Since the Senator has chosen to cast the reproach on the friends of the nominations of Van Buren and Johnson of being favorable to the abolition cause—a reproach that is not less unjust than indicative of the true cause of the determination to discuss this abolition question in Congress—I will inform that Senator, and the whole South, that, in the State of New Hampshire, there is not, within the compass of my knowledge, a solitary individual, in favor of the nominations alluded to, who is not as decidedly opposed to the present abettors of the anti-slavery cause in New England. The primary meetings preparatory to the annual election are now being held in that State. Ever since 1829, the opposition of every name has been beaten at each election; and it so happens that, for the coming election, they have not as yet chosen to offer us battle—they show no symptoms, either of organization or concentration.

The Hillsborough Council district, being about a fifth of the State, held its convention on the 7th day of January. This district has steadily adhered to the principles of the democratic party, through evil report, and through good report,

from the commencement of Jefferson's administration to the present moment. Eighty delegates, coming from nearly every township of the district, and elected by the citizens of the several towns, attended this convention. These delegates unanimously passed resolutions, approving the nominations of Van Buren and Johnson, and they unanimously passed the three following resolutions:

"*Resolved*, That the relation of master and slave is a matter exclusively within the regulation of the States in which it exists, and that any interference by the inhabitants of other States in regard to it, is not only unauthorized and intrusive, but faithless and dishonorable as being against the letter and spirit of the sacred compact which binds us together.

"*Resolved*, That those who promote inflammatory discussions, and are guilty of disseminating among the slaves of the south, publications the tendency of which is to excite insurrection, are regarded by us as persons prompted by the most reckless wickedness, or by an insane fanaticism fully as mischievous in its consequences.

"*Resolved*, That we advert with the deepest regret to the fact that some individuals of the clerical order in this State, have made their pulpits the source of exciting appeals, and virulent denunciations on the subject of slavery; that we consider all interference from the sacred desk, in political questions, as aside from the sphere of the duties of clergymen; and that we view those clergymen who countenance the proceedings of the abolitionists, and indulge in such appeals and denunciations as pursuing a course hostile to our Union, and to the cause of civil liberty, and contrary to the true spirit of the Gospel of Peace."

Stafford county Convention, of more than sixty delegates from about thirty townships, on the 18th of January, unanimously passed a resolution in favor of the same candidates for President and Vice President, and the following:

"*Resolved*, That we have no fellowship whatever with northern Abolitionists—a set of deluded individuals, deserving rather of pity than contempt."

Grafton and Coos Convention, on the 27th of January, with about the same number of delegates, approved the same nominations, and unanimously

"*Resolved*, That anti-slavery, as acted out by its present supporters, is fit employment only for such as have no business of their own, and wish to interfere with the affairs of their neighbors. Should its advocates expect to ride into office by practising such wild delusion, they will ere long discover their mistake."

Sullivan county, (a part of the old Cheshire Council district,) on the 20th of January, by delegates from nearly every township, unanimously declares for the same Presidential candidates, and passes the following preamble and resolutions:

"Whereas, much excitement has prevailed in this State, in relation to the existence of slavery in the southern portion of the Union: And whereas, in the opinion of this Convention, the constitution of the United States reserves to the slave-holding States the original right to the exclusive control of the servile portion of their population: And whereas, the present excitement in the northern States,

got up by fanaticism and morbid philanthropy, and based upon an ignorance of the true condition of the slave, the character of the master, and of the relative rights and duties of the several members of the confederacy, has been seized upon by wicked and corrupt men, with a view to divide the democracy of the North and South, and sever the union of the States: And whereas, in our belief, the course of the abolitionists, if persisted in, will lead to a dissolution of the confederacy and its attendant calamities, a servile and civil war: Therefore,

"Resolved, That we view every Abolitionist as an enemy to his country, to the union of the States, and the integrity of the democratic party."

"Resolved, That it is the duty of the democracy to discountenance and check, by all proper means, the prosecution of the plans and schemes of the Abolitionists."

"Resolved, That if Congress possess the constitutional power, it is inexpedient to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia."

Rockingham district, by delegates from its several towns, on the 28th January, passed the following resolution, in addition to resolutions in favor of Martin Van Buren and Richard M. Johnson:

"Resolved, That we view with deep concern and regret, the recent exertions of a few fanatics to disturb the harmony and peace of the Union, by their unconstitutional and illegal attack upon the rights and independence of the other States, by an unjustifiable interference with their domestic institutions of 'slavery.'"

At another collection of democratic citizens, friends of the administration, from fourteen different towns in another part of the State, met for the purpose of celebrating the glorious eighth of January, besides other strong indications in toasts in disapprobation of a certain abolition teacher under foreign pay, who had accompanied the renegade Thompson, in his futile attempts to hold meetings, the following resolution was unanimously passed.

"Resolved, That we view with the highest disapprobation, the avowed principles of certain individuals of the abolition and nullification parties; that the violent doctrines of the first serve only to irritate the feelings, but not convince the conscience of the master, and consequently to increase the severity, but not to ameliorate the condition of the slave; that the latter party is now only sustained and held together by the fanatical proceedings of the former—both openly avowing their readiness for the dissolution of the Union, thus proving themselves to be twin sisters, and closely allied to their unholly progenitor, the infamous Hartford Convention."

Still further, Mr. President, there is a town of New Hampshire, (Barnstead,) which has given at both of the last elections a majority of more than three hundred for electors, friendly to Andrew Jackson, out of less than four hundred votes cast. That town, at a meeting of its democratic citizens on the 9th of January, passed resolutions unanimously approving of the nominations before named, and also the following:

"Resolved, That those foreign emissaries and domestic fanatics, who profess so much sympathy

for the poor blacks, by their pathetic appeals to our brethren of the south, on the subject of slavery, are sapping the foundation of our liberty and would gladly sever our happy Union."

"Resolved, That all legal measures for the suppression of unconstitutional interference by agents or incendiary publications among southern slaves, will meet our entire approbation."

"Resolved, That what we most abhor among abolitionists, is their attempts to introduce the blacks into the society of whites, having even dared admit them as fit associates and companions of our youth in schools, and domestic intercourse; may all such meet the fate of the Canaan Academy."

"Resolved, That we despise no human being for the form of his features, or the color of his skin, but in our opinion of the African race, their intellect is too feeble, their passions too strong, and their dispositions too irritable to encourage their immediate emancipation in this country."

"Resolved, That we deplore the existence of slavery and the slave trade, yet we do not claim all the morals nor all the religion in the country; but though the evil does not exist in our own State, we set so high a value upon our Union as to concede to the several States their CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS, leaving them to manage their own internal affairs and regulate their own morals."

These resolutions are from a community of respectable and intelligent farmers, as hardy as the face of the granite hills they inhabit, as ready to take up arms in their country's defence as they are to vote down the men of any party who take ground against that country—from a community who have not sufficient contention among themselves to give support and business to a single village lawyer.

The intelligent yeomanry who passed those plain, common-sense resolutions, understand what duties the people owe to each other, and to the States of this Union, quite as well as those who split hairs and carry on a labored argument at either end of the capitol, to prove that Congress has not a right to interfere with slavery in the District of Columbia. On the one hand, a gentleman, (Mr. Leigh of Va,) is applauded for his most conclusive speech, proving beyond a doubt, that Congress cannot legislate on the subject of slavery; and in a trice, another learned and able gentleman, (Mr. Hoar of Mass,) in another hall, is complimented, perhaps by the same persons, who equally admire the talents and the principles of both speakers, with having demonstrated beyond all question, that Congress has a right to abolish slavery in this District! Both the gentlemen belong to a party that can agree to disagree, whenever and wherever it may be necessary. The object now is to keep the ball of contention moving between the North and the South; and no other course the two gentlemen can take will so effectually encourage the abolitionists on the one side, and arouse the slaveholder on the other. The people are aroused—the seeds of disunion are sown in new ground—an inveterate sectional distrust takes deeper root; and our congressional orators obtain a high reputation with all such as would make our Constitution

mean anything or nothing. They are little less than "God-like" in their masterly expositions of the Constitution; an instrument so plain to common sense, before they had touched it, that he who runs may read, and rightly understand!

Besides the strong and unanimous expressions by public meetings of friends of the Administration, I have numerous letters from New Hampshire declaring the public sentiment. One letter says:

"Abolition here is at its lowest possible ebb. Not a dog attempts to move his tongue. I can recollect no political question that has ever been before the people, that has been so completely put down. All parties, classes, ages and sexes, hold the abolitionists in the most utter contempt. I observe that it is insinuated by certain politicians in Congress, that these professions of the people of the non-slaveholding States are not sincere—that they dare not toe the mark. Now let those gentlemen come here, and they will find a people as hostile to disturbing the slave question as the people of the slaveholding States can possibly be. Our people consider this a question about which they have nothing to do, other than as a member of the Confederacy, to contend that the just rights of each and every State shall be guaranteed to them; and I am of opinion that Congress have no more right to interfere with slavery in the District of Columbia, than they have in any of the States."

Another letter says:

"The leading feature on which the times hinge, (to use one of Lord Castlereagh's metaphors,) seems to be a design of the nullifiers and opposition men of all sorts to agitate the slavery question, in order to produce a sectional division on the Presidential election, and, it would appear, with a design, in some of them, eventually to produce a dissolution of the Union. There is nothing that could so effectually conduce to that end as a disregard in the south of all the efforts of the friends of the country at the north, to preserve in their integrity southern rights. The attempt to excite the feelings of the south, in order to induce them to contend against and put down the democracy of the north, is so base that it cannot be spoken of except with feelings of indignation. * * *

"The democracy of the north are strenuously contending for the rights of the south. What can so effectually discourage them in their exertions as for the south to disregard all their efforts, and not only so, but to repay them with injury and contumely? To say that a man belongs to the democratic party, and is an abolitionist, is in New Hampshire a contradiction in terms. If a person should avow himself an abolitionist, we should read him out of our political church, and turn him over to Arthur Tappan and the nullifiers. But there would be no necessity for this, for if, perchance, a person becomes tainted with abolitionism, he at once leaves the democratic party. There is no one sentiment in which our party in this State are so thoroughly united as in detestation of abolition and of the proceedings of the abolitionists. There is no exception within my knowledge."

The session of Congress two years ago will be long remembered as the panic session. We have had repeated attempts to create panics, and I

consider the present efforts to create an excitement on the subject of the slave question as one of them. I do not believe the agitators of the North would here present themselves with numerous petitions for abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia, if they did not feel assured that southern men in Congress would lend their efforts to agitate the question. On the 4th of March, two years ago, while certain famed resolutions, afterwards passed by the Senate, were under debate, I called the attention of the Senate to the various excitements which had been moved for political effect, and I then made use of the following language:

"Another subject more recently moved by the agitators, is the slave question. Accordingly, we find the agitators at the public meetings in South Carolina declaring to their followers, on public occasions, that there is a deliberate design on the part of the people of the North, to drive the whole white population out of that country, to annihilate their property and destroy their prosperity.* The agitators of the North being, in nine cases out of ten, the same persons who have labored so zealously in the Indian agitation; these persons reduced to almost nothing in point of numbers and influence, by the unmasking of their hypocrisy, act in perfect concert with the agitators of the South. They attempt to give color to their complaints, by calling meetings and delivering inflammatory addresses in various places; and they are attempting to operate on Congress by fac simile petitions in various parts, asking that slavery may be abolished in the District of Columbia. Of these agitators it suffices to say, that in the whole North not one intelligent man in twenty will join their standard. The South has nothing to fear from their efforts, but in the effect they may have at a distance. These efforts are made to produce that distant effect, and they are every where formed against a general expression of scorn from the real friends of the Union."

Without intimating in the Senate that I had in view any particular individuals when these words were spoken two years ago, I claim the merit of having then predicted precisely the course that has been taken on this abolition question. I now see in both branches of Congress an apparent desire to magnify this subject—to keep the ball of contention in motion. From what quarter this intention comes, let the records of Congress speak.

The book of Doctor Channing has been introduced into the Senate. If the Doctor had written his book for gain, he could desire nothing better than this—he will now sell ten books where he would not otherwise have sold one. In my mind it is a doubtful question, whether it be more reprehensible to write such a book or to read it in the Senate of the United States. The Doctor's motive might have been good in the one case, and the Senator's motive might have been praiseworthy in the other. I confess I was shocked at the insatiation or the folly which would prompt any

* The allusion here was to a speech reported by the newspapers to have been made by Mr. Calhoun, in South Carolina.

man to deliberately write what was here read; and if the direct effect of reading those extracts was to spread before the people of the South doctrines the most odious and disgusting—if the effect of spreading the nauseous paragraphs in that region be to excite the colored population to mutiny and murder—if the effect be to fan higher the flame of disunion, let those only be responsible on whom the blame lies. Doctor Channing's book is condemned by nineteen in every twenty intelligent citizens of the North, as is the agitation of the slavery question in Congress.

The present agitation in the North, is kept up by the application of money—it is a state of things altogether forced. AGENTS are HIRED, disguised in the character of ministers of the Gospel, to preach abolition of slavery, where slavery does not exist; and presses are kept in constant employment, to scatter abolition publications through the country. Deny the right of petition to the misguided men and women who are induced from no bad motive to petition for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and you do more to increase their numbers, than will thousands of dollars paid to the emissaries, who traverse the country to distribute abolition tracts, and to spread abolition doctrines. Continue to debate abolition in either branch of Congress, and you more effectually subvert the incendiary views of the movers of abolition, than any thing they can do for themselves. It may suit those who have been disappointed in all their political projects, to try what this subject of abolition will now avail them. Such men will be likely to find in the end, that the people have too strong attachment for that happy Union, to which we owe all our prosperity and happiness, to be thrown from their property at every agitating blast which may be blown across the land.

Mr. CALHOUN said, the Senator from New Hampshire could not expect him to reply to him. That Senator had availed himself of the position he occupied on that floor to indulge very freely in assailing the motives of others. He was persuaded that no Senator, who had any respect for himself, would stoop to notice any thing of this character which had fallen from him. For himself, he would as soon condescend to notice the mendacious and filthy columns of the Globe, as to notice the general remarks of the Senator from New Hampshire. That Senator had, however, stated what purported to be a fact, that the abolition excitement in New Hampshire was entirely extinct. But here was a statement of facts in relation to what that gentleman said of the abolition question in New Hampshire; it was found in a publication coming from one of the incendiary publications in that State, and he would lay it before the Senate, in order that it might judge for itself. He would not institute a comparison between the relative degree of veracity in the statement contained in this paper and the one made by the Senator from New Hampshire. He would lay the paper before the Senate, in order that it might judge of the truth as to the abolition spirit in New Hampshire. It was a paper that had been sent to him through

the mail, but he did not know from what quarter it came.

Mr. C. here handed to the Secretary a newspaper containing an article impugning a statement made by Mr. PIERCE of New Hampshire in the House of Representatives, as to the number of abolitionists in his State, with severe strictures on the state of slavery in the South, said article stating that a great number of petitions in favor of the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia would be forwarded to Congress from New Hampshire.

The paper having been read,

Mr. HILL inquired the title of it.

The SECRETARY answered, "The Herald of Freedom," published at Concord, New Hampshire.

Mr. H. said he was aware such a paper was there printed, and it was upon the sufferance of an enlightened community who adopted and practised the doctrine of Mr. Jefferson, that "error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it." This paper was there printed, but it could not be said to be there circulated; those engaged in it were ashamed to circulate it in its own neighborhood. It was especially intended for a foreign market, and was supported from foreign funds and from distant contributions: whether derived from South Carolina or from some other quarter, others knew better than he did. A friend who had been grossly abused in the same paper, (said Mr. H.) had sent him a single number, not that which had just been read by the Secretary, as requested by the Senator from South Carolina, and this was the only number of the Herald he had seen at Washington; this number contained a speech of the same honorable Senator on the subject of abolition, which was published without comment, and was evidence that such speeches were the best matter for abolitionists. He thought the Senate was well employed listening to the reading of disgusting extracts here, for the purpose of impugning the statements of a member of the House of Representatives, who could not be present to defend himself. That representative [Mr. Pierce, of N. Hampshire,] was capable of defending himself in this or any other theatre, even against the Senator from South Carolina, who has caused the disgusting exhibition of reading the extracts.

The petitions spoken of in that paper do not correctly represent the state of public feeling in New Hampshire. They were, so far as he had information, signed in most instances by women and children, many of whom were utterly ignorant of the intent of sending them here. No petition from that State had been yet presented; when they are presented, it may be in better time to magnify their importance. The Senator from South Carolina seems anxious to make the number large; in this anxiety he but verifies what he (Mr. H.) had stated to be the object of keeping up the excitement on the floor of Congress.

Mr. H. said he had nothing to say as to the standing of the Senator from South Carolina on this floor; he believed each and every Senator stood here on the ground of perfect equality

The taunting remark of the Senator relative to himself, applied not to him, but to his constituents, to the freemen who sent him here, and who were not to be disparaged for intelligence and patriotism by any invidious comparison with the constituents of the Senator from Carolina. One thing he would say, and that was, that great as were the disgust and contempt felt by the Senator from South Carolina for him, they could not exceed the contempt and disgust felt for that Senator by himself, by his constituents, and by the People of the North.

Mr. HUBBARD (who was in the Chair) asked the indulgence of the Senate to submit a few remarks. He felt as if an apology was due from him to the Senate, for not having checked the reading of the paragraphs from the newspaper which had just been read by the Secretary. He was wholly ignorant of the contents of the paper, and could not have anticipated the purport of the article which the Senator from Carolina had requested the Secretary to read. He understood the

Senator to say, that he wished the paper to be read, to show that *the statement made by the Senator from New Hampshire as to the feelings and sentiments of the people of that State, upon the subject of the abolition of slavery, were not correct.* It certainly would have been out of order for any Senator to have alluded to the remarks made by a member of the House of Representatives in debate—and, in his judgment, it was equally out of order to permit paragraphs from a newspaper to be read in the Senate, which went to impugn the course of any member of the other House; and he should not have permitted the paper to have been read, without the direction of the Senate, if he had been aware of the character of the article.

Mr. CALHOUN said he was entitled to the floor, and objected to being interrupted by the Chair.

Mr. HUBBARD replied, he had said all he wished to say. The Senator was entitled to the floor, and could proceed if he wished.